THE GROUNDS AND REASONS OF MONARCHY,

Considered and exemplified out of the

SCOTTISH HISTORY

By *J. H.*

——— Fungar vice cotis acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, expers ipsa secandi.

Edinburgh, Printed by *Evan Tyler*, 1651.

THE

GROUNDS

AND

THE PREFACE.

THere is nothing hath more confounded knowledge among men then the reciprocall violences of the understanding and the will; or, to speak plainly, the passion of the one and blindness of the other: Since some by chance or interest take up principles which they force the understanding by strayn'd Arguments to maintain: Others by the Custom of some opinion so bewitch the will into confedracy, that they can never quit it after any confutation; to remedy this, since I had purposed with my self to say somewhat to this point (which though it be but a small wyer yet the great weight of civill felicity lies upon it) I knew no better method then to take the scales off the eyes of the understanding, and shew the Will how better to bring about her great designe of good: And in the prosecution of this, I would not skirmish with every Argument which had been a thing of immense slavery and not for every eye; but I choosed rather to strike at the foundations, that the understanding might loose his passion, and more freely consider upon what Quick-sands

they lay; and in this I need not to be positive, because I take a task which most men are rather happy in, that is, to supplant Error rather then to assert Truth: Hence I consider Kingship simply, not troubling my self to maintain any other form, or consider Oaths, Ends, changes of Government or particular necessities or Reasons of safety they being distinct Considerations and tasks by themselves. Now if this negative way satisfie not, I see no such great cause to be discouraged, for (I confess) I do not perceive it so easie a thing to finde an error, and I had rather tell a man he was out of the way, then in endeavouring to lead him to the end of his journay, lead him further about, and it is my opinion, that as Scepticschism is not onely useless, but dangerous if in setting our thoughts in a posture of defence it makes us absolutely wavering and incredulous, so had I rather be Sceptical in my opinion, then maintain it upon Grounds taken up and not demonstrated.

The second part is meerly an instance as to the Arguments of the first, wherein I would not be understood to be a writer of an Epitome (I have other imployments for my time and thoughts; and nobler too) but to set down a true Series by way of Example, and therefore I was onely to note accesses and recesses to Governments, and the effects proceeding from the persons of Governours, and here I needed not much trouble the Chronologers: So least it migh be a bare Sceleton *I sprinkled some observations, that came to hand and seem to afford either pleasure or use. Thus much least I might be misunderstood, I thought necessary to premise.*

THE

THE GROUNDS OF MONARCHY.

The first Part.

I Have often thought it strange that among all the Governments, either past or being, the *Monarchicall* should so far in extent and number exceed the *Popular*, as that they could never yet come into comparison. I could never be perswaded, but it was more happy for a people to be disposed of by a number of persons joyntly interested and concerned with them, then to be numbred as the herd and Inheritance of One to whose lust and madness they were absolutely subject; and that any man of the weakest reason and generosity would not rather choose for his habitation that piece of earth, whereon there were access to honour by vertue and no worth could be excluded; rather then that where all advancement should proceed from the will of one scarcely hearing and seeing with his own Organs, and gain'd for the most part by means lewd and indirect, and that in the end to amount to nothing else but a more splendid and dangerous slavery. To satisfie this, I considered how inscrutably Providence carryes on the turns and stops of all Governments, so that most people

rather found them then made them; the constitutions of men, some not fit to be masters of their Liberty, some not capable, some not willing, the Ambition of setled Tyrants, who breaking their own bounds have brought in violent alterations, and lastly, civill discords which have either corrupted or altered better settlements.

But these are observations, rather then Argnments, and relate to fate rather then reason. That which astonished me most was to see this Heroick learned Age, not onely not rising to thoughts of Liberty, but instead thereof foolishly turning their wits and swords against themselves in the maintenance of *Them*, whose slaves they are, and indeed they can be no weak causes that produce so long and setled a distemper though some of them I supposed, if not most of them, are these.

He knoweth nothing that knoweth not how superstitiously the generality of mankinde is given to hold up traditions, and how pertinatious it is in the maintenance of its first prejudices, insomuch that a discovery or more refinde reason is as insupportable to them, as the Sun is to an eye newly brought out of darkness; hence opiniatrytrie (which is commonly proportion'd to their ignorance) and a generous obstinacy sometimes to death and ruine: So that it is no marvel if we see many Gentlemen whose education enabled them onely to use their senses and first thoughts, so dazled with the splendor of a Court prepossessed with the affectiou of a Prince, or bewitched with some subdolous favour, That he chooseth rather any hazard then the enchantment should be broke up. Others perhaps a degree above these, yet in respect of some Title stuck upon the Family (which hath been as fortunate a mysterie of Kingship as any other) or in reverence to some glorious former atchievements (minding not that in all these cases the people are the onely effective means, and the King onely imaginary) they think they should degenerate from bravery in bringing on a change. Others are withheld by sloth and timerousnes either not daring or unwilling to be happy; some looking no further then their private welfare, indifferent for the multiplication of publick evils. Others (and these the worst of all out of pravity of nature sacrificing to their ambition

bition and avarice, and in order to that following any power concurring with any Machinations, and upholding their Authors: whilſt Princes themſelves, (train'd up in theſe Arts, or receiving them in Tradition) know how to winde all their humors to their own advantage, now foyſting in the Divinity of their Titles into Pulpits, now amuzing the People with magnificencies and inter-ludes, now divecting their hot Spirits to ſome unprofitable forrain War (making way to their accurſed ends of revenge or glory, with the effuſion of that blood which ſhould be as deer to them as their own:) Now ſtroaking the People with ſome feeble but enforced Law (for which notwithſtanding they wilbe payd;) and 'tis obſerved, the moſt notorious Tyrants have taken this courſe; Now giving up the eminenteſt of their Miniſters (which they part with as indifferently as their Robes) unto the rage and fury of the People, ſo that they are commanded and condemned by the ſame mouth, and the credulous and ignorant believing their Kings ſet over them, ſit ſtill, and by degrees grow into quiet and admiration, eſpecially if lulled aſleep with ſome ſmal continuance of peace (be it never ſo unjuſt, unſound, or dangerous) as if the body politick could not languiſh of an internal diſeaſe, whilſt its complexion is freſh and chearful.

Thoſe are the Reaſons, which (if I conceive aright) have ſtupified the leſſe knowing part of mankinde, Now how the more ſearching part hath ſo odly miſcarried, wil fall under conſideration.

Firſt then, we need not take the pains to demonſtrate how eaſie a thing it is for men of acuteneſſe, not converſant in Civill things not onely to miſcarry in the apprehenſion, but even in the judgement of them; for they inſtead of bringing the ſeries and reaſon of affairs into rule and method, uſe contrarywiſe to meaſure them by their own preſuppoſed ſpeculation; and by that means become incapable of weighing rightly the various incidences and circumſtances of buſineſſes: For it is to be obſerved, that the Theorems of no Art or Profeſſion are more eaſily found, or of difficulter practice, then thoſe of Policy; ſo that it is no wonder if men meerly contemplative, fail ſo oft on the very laying of grounds, as we ſhal anon inſtance, now how

fruit-

fruitful dainties are Error and Abſurdity, we all know. But more eſpecially the contentions of contemplative men are moſt numerous, various, and endleſſe; for wrangling is with them an Art, and they are endued with that ungenerous ſhame never to acknowledge: Beſides, theſe principles are moſt times ill rivetted, and it is to be feared, that in their ſuperſtructions, they as often call in their imaginations, as their judgement to frame arguments. Beſides, theſe men fighting onely with Pen Ink, and Paper, ſeldome arrive at a means to decide the Quarrell, by which he that gains the laſt word is ſuppoſed Conqueror. Or the other leaves almoſt as inglorious a Conqueſt to the Victor as if he had been overthrown.

That which I would ſay from all this, is, that the generality of ſpeculative men, for the moſt part guiding their underſtandings by thoſe notions which they finde in Books: fall not ſeldome by this means into conſiderable Errors: For all Books, thoſe I mean, that are humane, and fall directly under conſideration, either lay down Practical things, and obſervations of King-ſhip, or ſome general and univerſal Notions, or elſe controverſially, *Aſſert Monarchy* againſt ſome oppoſers. Now in the two latter there are generally found two grand and inſupportable fallacies, the firſt whereof is, that they fraudulently converſe in generals, and (to borrow the School-term) ſpeak of that in the *Abſtract*, which they ſhould do in the *Concret*: As for example, where they ſhould aſſert the particular right of this or that Prince, they cunningly or ignorantly lay out moſt of their diſcourſe in general about *Monarchy*, and ſo not ſeldome weary and amuze the diſpute, before they come to the true Ground and ſtating of the Quarrel, whereby the Readers diverted by ſuch prepoſſeſsions, & entangled by general Notions of Authority, Power and Government, ſeldome deſcend into the conſideration of particulars; where the great ſcruple & difficultie for the moſt part lyes. So that any King (be his acceſſe to the Government never ſo fraudulent and unjuſtifiable) becoms to be lookt on as ſacred Authoritative, & by degrees begins not to bluſh at the Attributes of Sacred Majeſty, Grace, and Highneſſe. or any other higher Terms that the ſervile flat-

tery

tery and witty Barbarity of Courtiers can give unto them; nay some even of the wicked'st *Roman* Emperors, could be content to be saluted with *Perennities* and *Divinities*, whereas if men would call their reasons into Councel, they might finde that these blazing Stars were opake Bodies, and shone onely by reflection: These men having no more then either the Cabal of their own state and distance, or the wretched Imposition upon the People cast on them; For would men divest the Authority from the Person, and then commonly finde it inconsiderable, if not positively evil. And again, consider Authority in it self as a thing fixt, veritable, immutable, and (when justly administred) sacred, they might finde, that granting a Prince to be the most Regular Just person in all the World, yet many men as good, joyn'd with him, and intrusted, and concurring to the same end, might do much more good; and that to deny this, were to be as irrational, as to deny that one Person could not do good at all. But however, this I take to be certain and demonstrable out of their own Principles, that Kings being only to be considered in respect of the trust and power that lyes on them, a number of men by as just means (to say no better) invested with the same trust and power, are every jot as sacred, and of as much divine right as any Monarch is (the power being essentially the same united or divided, as if a Commission be to one or three) it will then result, that Republicks may be as Just and Authoritative, as King-ships, and then their radical Argument of the *Jure Divino* of King-ship is wholly enfeebled, and the other rendred equally as Soveraign. And I am to note (but this is but transiently) the poornesse, or to say better, the Blasphemy of that Argument, that flourishes out Kings as the Eclipses of Divinity, and vainly lavishes some Metaphysicks, to prove that all things have a natural Tendencie to an *Oneneſſe*; nay, the itch of some merry wits, have carryed them to run over most of the *Attributes* (as some *English* Lawyers have talkt of the Legal, I must say phantastical ubiquity and omniscience of our Kings, though we see the contrary, and some Civilians about the Emperour, have gone before them) whereas they should consider, that the immense simplicity of God flowes out in its several workings with ineffable

variety, God being every-where and the ſame, or as the *Platoniſts* ſay, a Center in every part of his Circle, a Spirit without Quantity, Diſtance and Comprehenſion; Whereas man is a determinate narrow thing, who doing one thing, ceaſeth to do another; and thinking of one thing, is forc'd to quit his former thought. Now how fit he is to be a ſhade of this Arch-tipe, let any judge, unleſs he could be refin'd from his corporeity, and inlarge into a proportionable immenſity. Beſides, I know not whether it be ſafe to think or no, That as God, who for the moſt part, ſuits men with gifts ſuitable to the places to which he calls them, would in ſome meaſure poure out his Spirit proportionate to theſe men, whereas as moſt commonly we findethem, notwithſtanding their extraordinary Advantages of ſociety, education and Buſineſs, as weak men as any other, and good Princes being ſwayed by the advice of men, good and wiſe, and the bad ſeduced by men of their own inclinations; what elſe are all Monarchies, but in reallity *Optimales* for a few only eſſentially govern, under the name of one who is utterly as unable as the meaneſt of thoſe over whom hee claimes ſuperiority.

The ſecond Fallacy or paralogiſm is this, That men, while they Labour thus to ſupport Monarchy, tell us not what kinde of Monarchy it is, and conſequently gain nothing, although we ſhould grant them the former propoſition to be true; For what does it avail to acertain me of the Title of ſuch a Prince, if I know not by what Title he holds, grant it were viſible to me that ſuch a man was markt out by providence to be my Governour, yet if I cannot tell what kinde of one, whether abſolute, mixt, limited, meerly Law-Executive, or firſt in order, how ſhall I know to direct my Obedience? if he be abſolute, my very naturall liberty is taken away from me, nor doe I know any power can make any man ſuch; The Scripture holding out juſt Limitations and reſtrictions to all Govenours. If mixt and limited, I muſt know the due temperature and bonnds, or elſe he may uſurpe or be miſtaken, and I oppreſſed or injur'd. If Law-Executive, the power fundamentally reſides not in him, but in the great Counſell, or them intruſted by the people, then I adore onely a ſhadow: Now if any Prince of

Europe

Europe can really clear up theſe miſtes, and ſhew the lines of his Government drawn fairly, and his Charter whole and Authentick, like that of *Venice* and the firſt *Rome*: For my part, I'le be the firſt man ſhall ſweare him Allegiance, and the laſt that will preſerve him. But you will finde what they will tell you in gennerall about their office, and in particular of their claimes of Succeſſion, Inheritance and Anceſtors, when look but three or foure ſtories back, and you will meet either ſome ſavage unnaturall Intruſion (diſguiz'd under ſome forſt Title or inexiſtent Cognation) or elſe ſome violent alteration, or poſſibly ſome ſlender Oath or Articles hardly extorted and imperfectly kept. Now if any man that will but run over theſe rules, and apply them to any Hiſtory whatever (as we ſhall exemplify in that which for the preſent we have pitcht upon) and not finde moſt Titles Ambiguous, the effects of former Monarchies (for where, in a Catologue of forty Kings, can you almoſt ſhew me three good ones, but things meerly ſtrugling to maintain their Titles and domeſtick Intereſt) ruinous to the people (who, for the moſt part, conſidering them no otherwiſe then as it reſcues them from violent Confuſion, not as they conduce to the poſitive happineſſe of a civil life) my ſmall converſation in Books is extreamely falſe: And truly I conceive it may be the rationalleſt courſe to ſet any judgement aright, becauſe it inſtructs by experience and effects, and grounds the judgement upon materiall obſervation, and not blindly gropes after notions and cauſes, which to him are *Tantum non Inſcrutabile*, But of that anon: A main miſtake under this Topick, hath been an erroneous Compariſon and application of matters Civil and Military; for men obſerving that mixt Councels about Generals, Plurality, equality of Commands, often and ſudden Military alterations, have brought on no ſmall diſtempers and dangers to ſeverall Governments and attempts; Therefore they preſently collect, that in Civills alſo it is the ſafeſt to continue a Command in one hand for the preventing of the like diſturbances: But here they are deceived, Civill matters conſiſt in long debate, great conſideration, patient expectation and wary foreſight, which is better to be found in a number of choice experienced heads, then in one ſingle one, whoſe youth and vigor of

ſpirit innables him rather to Action, and fills him with that noble Temerity, which is commonly ſo happy in Martial things, which muſt be guided alwayes to prevent occaſions (which are ſeldom to be found again, and which, miſtaken, are ſo ſcarcely amended) Beſides the ferocity of daring ſpirits, can hardly be bounded while they ſtand levell, ſo that it is no wonder if they extinguiſh all emulations, by putting the power into the hands of one, whereas in the City, it is quite otherwiſe; and Factions (unleſs they be Cruelly exorbitant) doe but poyſe and ballance one another, and many times like the diſcord of humor upon the naturall Body, produce reall good to the Politick. That ſlender conception, that nature ſeems to dreſs out as principally in moſt her workes, as among Birds, Bees, *&c.* is ſo ſlender (in regard they are no more chiefs then what they fancy them, but all their præpotency is meerly predatory or oppreſſive, and even Lyones, Elephants, Crocodiles and Eagles, have ſmall inconſiderable enemies, of which they ſtand in fear, and by which they are often ruin'd) that the Recitall confutes it; and if it were ſo, yet unleſs they could prove their *One* man to be as much more excellent then thoſe are, and that ſolely, I ſee not what it would advantage them, ſince to comply with the deſigne of Nature in one, they would contrary it in others where ſhee were equally concerned. But theſe Phylologicall and Rhetorical Arguments, have not a little hindered the ſeverer diſquiſition of reaſon, and propoſeſſed the more eaſy mindes with notions ſo much harder to be layd aſide, as they are more erronious and pleaſing.

Theſe are the fundamentall errours that have miſled the judgement; now thoſe which have miſguided the conſcience, have principally proceeded from the miſ-interpretation of Scripture, and therefore ſeeming Sacred, have been leſs examined and doubted, as carrying the moſt authority. Thus in the old Teſtament, there being ſuch frequent mention of Kings, which notwithſtanding, were *Given in Wrath*, they ſuperſtitiouſly hold forth, not only the neceſſity, but the impunity of Kings, whereas wee know not their powers and limitations, and it is inconſequentiall to argue, That becauſe *Judea* was ſo governed, wee ſhould follow the paterne, when we find neither precept, conſequence nor neceſſity convincing. And it's madd to think

that

that while the Spirit of God ſo freely & vehemently exclaimes againſt the iniquities of men, that God would authorize it ſo far as to leave it in them unpuniſhable. As for the antiquity from *Adam* it's true, before his fall his dominion was large and wide, but it was over the Beaſts (that after his fall learned to rebel againſt him) and œconomically not deſpotically over his wife and children, But what is this to Civill Government? In the new Teſtament (for I the briefer paſs over this head, in regard it hath been ſo copiouſly treated upon by thoſe under whoſe profeſſion it falles, and that it doth not immediatly conduce to my deſigne) the principall hath been the meekneſſe of Chriſt and his complyance with Civill powers, which certainly if he had been diſpoſed to have reſiſted, he could as eaſily have overthrown, as with a few cords whip the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple. But hee that was the wiſdome of his Father, rather thought fit to build up his Kingdom, which is never earthly, nor known of men of earth, in meeknes and obedience to civill powers, which are perpetually changed and hurried at the will of the firſt mover, otherwiſe he would never have conſerved himſelf ſo much in giving dues to *Cæſar*, and to God, what is Gods; intimating the diſtinct obediences owing by all men as Chriſtians and Citizens, when granting Monarchy, the moſt and the onely Lawfull Government, yet every one knoweth, that knoweth any thing of the Roman ſtory, that *Auguſtus* had no more Title to that Government, then any of thoſe over whom he uſurped, and that his acceſſe to Government was as fraudulent and violent as could be. Another is the miſtaking of the word *Powers* ἐξουσίαις, when its clear, the Scripture ſpeaketh of it in a latitude, as extending it to all eſtabliſhed Governments. Now men have falſly aſumed that thoſe powers were only meant of Kings; & what by an indiſcreet collation of the places of the old, and violent reſtings of others of the new, they perfected the other grand miſtake, which ſince it hath been already cleared up (and as we ſaid is but collaterall with us for the preſent) we ſhall no further mention. As for the alleadged examples and and ſpeeches of primitive times, I ſee not much in them conſiderable, for though inſurrections againſt Princes cannot be produc'd, or rather much is ſaid againſt them,

them; we are to consider, that the Gospel of Christ (which was at that time not much defiled by the world) ingages not to any Domination, but wholly taken up with its own extasies, spiritual delights & expectations, neglects all other affairs as strange and dangerous. And moreover (though I know what hath been said to the contrary) I cannot finde (after consideration of those Ages) any probable ground how, if they would have risen, they could have Bodied. They were indeed numerous, but then they had Legionaries among them, & who knows not what an ineffectual thing a People is (be it never so desirous) when overawed by the Soldatesque: And they were a People (as greatness to God and man is different) not for their worldly power (for how few considerable Commanders were Converted in the first Ages?) but out of his own choice, so that it was not strange, if they could not do much. For God as he chose the weakest means in the planting of the Gospel, Fishermen; So, in the Primitive propagation he called the weaker men, though Christianity afterwards grew ample and August, and Kings were proud to give their names unto it.

As for the Fathers (granting them free of their many Bastardizations, interpellations, and all those Errors and uncertainties which the process of time and fraud of men hath foysted into them) they are to be accepted as Witnesses, not as Judges, that is to say, they may prove matter of Fact, but none of their words matter of Right, especially if we consider their writings either as Homilies, Commentaries, or controversies, which are ever directed to another end then this is, and they themselves (men secluded from Business) are so much more unable to judge and resolve Civill controversies (as this is) in regard the unhappiness of the latter Times hath produced many controversies not known or thought of in their days, which falling directly under their profession, cannot receive any light or Authority from them.

Having considered Kingship, how well it hath appeared through the false lights of the understanding, we shall now consider, whether (taking it by it self) its foundations being laid upon a Cylender or upon a Base, and this me thinks we are the likeliest to do, if we consider them in their rights and uses,

uſes, or to ſpeak plainer; in their Legality and policy, ſo that if we finde that none of the wayes of the retaining of their Crowns can be Authentical ſave one, and that one make againſt them, we ſhall finde we have no ſuch juſt cauſes of blinde adoration or implicite enforcement to truckle under any of their Commands. And if again we diſcover that the Government it ſelf is not ſo profitable as to the ends of Civil happineſs, but rather Diametrically oppoſite to it, we may ſuppoſe that men are either ſtrangely obſtinate, or elſe they might eradicate an error, which not onely offers ſo many prejudices to their underſtanding, but hath ſuch an evil influence upon their outward well being.

We have then to conſider, that for *One* man to rule over *Many*, there muſt neceſſarily be ſome right, though it be but colourable; for either he muſt be choſen by the people as their Arbitrator and Supream Iudge, or elſe he muſt by force of Arms invade them, and force them to obedience, which he by force preſerving for his Sons or Succeſſors, makes way for a third claim, which is Inheritance. A fourth, ſome have invented, though were it real, it is but a difference of the laſt, and I therefore ſhall mention it under that head. But to the Conſideration.

First therefore Election, ſuppoſing the people either finding themſelves unable to weyld their own happineſs, or for preventing of diſorder, make choice of one to be ſet over them, it here inſtantly followeth, that Authority is in the people, and flowing from them; for choice argues a power, and being choſen and elected, a ſubordination to it, in the end, I mean, though not in every Act. Now there is none choſen but for ſome end, or for ſome intentions reciprocal betwixt both partyes, for otherwiſe ſuch a choice were but dotage, and conſequently invalid: Now thus it will follow that thoſe who pretend to King it upon this Topick, muſt either ſhew a formal Election, which I think many Kings are not able to do, or if he can ſhew one, the Conditions and ends for which he was choſen. Now all parts being either implicite or explained, let him produce the Covenant, that it may be known whether he govern according to it or not, for if he tranſgreſſeth, he forfeits, and the other

are

are disobliged. If the agreement be unwritten or intentional, either party is relatively tyed, and then if he do any thing against the welfare of the people (that Soveraign Law and end of all Government:) The people may not onely justly suppose the former capitulation broken, but even endeavour, by what possible means they can, to restore themselves to their former rights; for why should the making of a Compact prejudice any when it is once broken; And here cometh in another fallacy, which the Assertors of Royalty have so flourished with, That in agreement between a people and one man, should inure, as *English* Lawyers terme it, to his Descendants, when as it is to be considered, that the people choosing of one man, is commonly in consideration of his person and personal merits, which not being the same in his Son (as commonly Families in the Horizon are in the Meridian, the Founders being braver then any that follow after them) that very intent is frustrated and ceaseth, and the People providing for the happiness of a few years, which are determinable with uncertainty of the latter part of the life of one man, run themselves and their posterity into an eternal inconvenience (for any thing they know) of bad Governours; neither if the people would never so formally agree with him that in regard of his merits or felicity of actions, his Son should be received in that place, yet would they not do it, that very pact expiring with the life of either: For my Father may leave me notionally a slave in a Tenure (a thing frequently with out Ancestors) or as Civilians term it, a Feodary, which I am content with, in respect of the advantage it brings me, or because my own estate is too little to be independent, and therefore I think it good prudence to be sheltered under the protection of the greater, but my natural Liberty, that is to say, to make my life as justly happy and advantagious to me as I can, he can no more give away from me then my understanding or eye-sight, for these are priviledges which God and Nature hath endued me with, and these I cannot be denyed, but by him that will deny me a being. But to go on, Suppose a second Generation should accept the Son, and a third a Grandsire, yet this confirms not a fourth, and they very impolitickly strengthen and confirm the power by con-

continuance, and in a manner with their own hands lay the Foundation of abſoluteneſs; their Governours themſelves growing in Intereſts, increaſing in Aliances and gleaning Forces, ſo it is very improbable but within a little they grow too big and formidable, and leave nothing of the Liberty ſave the name and (if they be leſs cunning) not that. A pertinent example of this, it is ſo near us, that I cannot paſs it, we ſee in young *Orange* and the *Low Countries* at this day, who continuing his Progenitors for their ſignall ſervices, and him for theirs, are now puniſhed for their generous and indiſcreet reyvarding of vertue, that their Liberty yvas lately blovvn up before they well perceived it to be undermined, and they are at charge to maintain their own oppreſsion. As for that formall election and ſtipulation, who ſees not vvhat a vain and ridiculous cheat it is, they coming vvith ſvvords in their hands to demand the Scepter of a weak and ſtupid multitude that appears onely to gaze upon the Ceremonies, and whoſe refuſal were ineffectual; but it is a gracious piece of the Caball of *Tyrannie* to deceive the People with Shadows, Fantaſmes, and names of Liberty.

As for thoſe that intrude in by force, they cannot certainly have a Fore-head to infer a right, they being but as the Pyrat ſaid to *Alexander*, publique and more magnificent Robbers: certainly theſe are the *Nimrods*, the great Hunters, God's ſcourges, and the burdens of the Earth; and whether they be Founders of Empires, or great Captains (as *Boccalini* diſtinguiſheth them) ought rather to be remembred with horror and deteſtation, then that undue reverence which they commonly meet with.

But theſe are they that lay the foundations of Succeſſion, and from theſe do the Succeſſors claim, and enjoy with the leſſe reluctancie. Becauſe the Regret of the violences and hate of the firſt, dayly weares out; whether it be by the continuance of Peace, that charmes men into a love of eaſe, or that the continuance of ſlavery enfeebles their mindes, that they rather choſe to look at their preſent enjoyments, then reall happineſſe, ſo that it is not ſtrange if the Perſon of their oppreſſor become in time adorable, and he himſelf think that confirmed and juſtifi-

ed to him in the proceſſe of time, which in the beginning he had no right to. But if he will conſider the buſineſſe a little higher, we might finde that ſince neither the People (as we have proved before) have power to make themſelves Vaſſals, nor the Intruders themſelves cannot pretend any juſt title; their Domination is meerly illegal, and apt to be ſhaked off with the firſt conveniencie, it being every whit as equitable, that theſe men ſhould be judged Enemies of mankinde, and condemned to dye the death of Parricides for uſurping a power, as *Nero* for miſ-uſing it. But I would fain ask theſe *Regium Defenders*, by what Law they can maintain Governments, to be inherent in one, and to be tranſmitted to his Off-ſpring? If they ſay, by the Law of God, I would again demand how they can make this Law appear to me? If they ſay, that the Scripture holds forth the right and ſacreity of Kings, I ask them again, How they know that God extends that Priviledge and authority to this King; if they ſay, that he is involved in the general right, they do but run into the Circle; unleſſe they can ſhow me, that all his approaches to Government were regular, and ſuch as God was pleaſed with, or elſe God had by ſome ſigne and wonder declared his approbation of him; for without theſe two, they muſt make God an Author of evil, which is impious, and pretend Commiſſion for an unlawful Act; and by the ſame right, any other may to an action never ſo unjuſt, it being no unuſual thing to borrow the face of Divinity, even upon ſome foul impoſtures, (as to forbear further inſtances) *Numa* his conference with *Ægeria*, *Scipio's* retirement into the Capitol, and *Sertorios* his white Hart.

Now, if they pretend the Law of Nature, they muſt demonſtrate unto us, both that ſhe endowed men with unequal freedome, and that ſhe ſhap'd out ſuch a man to rule, whereas it appears on the contrary, that all men naturally are equal: for though Nature with a Noble variety hath made different the Features and Lineaments of men, yet as to freedome, till it be loſt by ſome external means, ſhe hath made every one alike, and given them the ſame deſires. But ſuppoſe ſhe had intended ſuch a Family for Government, and had given them ſome illuſtrious marks, as we read of ſome had (whether by the imagi-

imagination of their mothers, or by deceit) yet then would Nature fall into a double irregularity ; first in deserting her method in making all free; and secondly in making her general work meerly subservient , and secondary to her particular, which how contrary it is to that beautiful harmony of hers, I need not much insist. Now if they say , they are Fathers of the People ; as for that which they call themselves the Heads, inferring the People no more then a trunk, it's onely Metaphorical, and proves nothing: for they must remember, that since Father hath a Correllative upon which it depends, and upon whose removal it vanishes, they themselves cannot bring any such; for by Physical procreation they wil not offer it. And for Metaphorical dependence it will come to nothing, we seeing People languish when their Princes are fullest, and like Leeches, rather willing to burst then to fall off. And on the contrary, the People upon the removal of a Prince, cheerful and relieved. Now if there were such a strict union between these two, such a contrariety and antipathy could never appear: for certainly when any two persons endeavor to gain one upon another, there is an enmity what ever is pretended; besides , if these men would be Fathers , it were then their duty to do like Fathers, which is, to provide for, defend and cherish, whereas on the contrary, it is themselves that eat the bread out of the mouths of their Children, and through the groans of the poor. And whereas flattery hath said, that what they draw up in vapours, they send down in showres, yet are we sure, such are for the most part unfruitful , if not ominous and infectious : If they pretend the Law of Nations, it were wel, they would declare unto us at first what this Law is, and whether generally agreed on or no by Nations : if they say, yes, they must resolve whether explicitely or implicitely; if they say the former, let them produce them ; if the latter, they must demonstrate, that all Nations are agreed in such and such Notions ; now if all men of these Nations since every one must be of equall capacity ; when on the contrary, though the understandings of most men whom we know or have conversed with, seem to flee to some generall Maximes (yet unpolished, unnumbered , and unmethodized)

yet vve ſee many Nations differing from us in many things, which we think clearly, fundamentally and naturally true, neither do climate, and education onely ſo diverſifie the mindes of men, but even their underſtandings, and the different ways of thinking ſo diſtinguiſh them, though of one Countrey, that though we may pleaſe our ſelves in thinking that all mens thoughts follow the Fantaſtical method of ours, yet we might finde, if we were perfectly converſant with all men of the world, and vvell read in their vvits (as vve are not vvith half of them, no, nor any one man vvith the tvventieth part) that there are ſcarce four or five actions vvould be univerſally received. Novv (for I have been the longer in this, by reaſon that this imaginary Lavv hath been ſo held up by the Civilians, and made the ſubterfuge of ſo many conſiderable diſputes) if it be ſo weak as that we can ſcarce tell whether it be or no, for even that which we account the moſt ſacred peice of it (the violation of publique Meſſengers, the *Tartar* and *Muſcovite*, unleſs withheld by fear, break it every day) What are the Arguments deducted from it? or if there were ſuch a Law, what would it avail ſuch a particular man, for why ſhould other Nations impoſe a Governor where they are not concerned; and if they pretend this Law, as to the preſervations and impunity of their perſons, the ſame Anſwer will ſerve again, with this addition, That they make an offender uncapable of puniſhment, it is but to give them a Commiſſion to offend: Now if they run upon that diſtinction of Suſpending onely, and not puniſhing (as if forſooth this kinde of people muſt be preſerved, though by the ruine of mankinde, to immediate vengeance) Now, I ſay, That Suſpention is really a puniſhment, and if his demerits can deſerve that, I ſee not but that upon a proportionable increaſe, they may deſerve Dethronization or Death, as clearly as two and two make four, and four and four make eight. If they alledge Poſitive or municipal Laws, and number *Homages*, they are not much the nearer, ſince that all ſuch Laws being but Rivulets and Branches of thoſe we before examined; and ſince we found that thoſe ſpeak ſo little in their favor, that which theſe do, cannot ſig-

nifie

nifie much, especially since Princes, who are ever watchful to prevail themselves of all occasions of this nature, can either by terror or artifice draw assemblies of the major part to their own Lure; nay, even the worst of them have not forgot to be solicitous in this case, but it must be set down, That whatsoever positive Laws are repugnant to those generals, they are injurous, and ought to be repealed: And truly it is a sad observation, that as Monarchs grow, either out of the weakness of Government, and (as I may say) pupillage, as *Romulus* and *Theseus* did at *Rome* and *Athens*, or else out of the disease or deprevation of them, as *Cæsar* again invaded *Rome*, so have the people been never more enamored of them, then when manners were at the highest corruption, which ever gave access of strength to them; nor have they more detested them, then when their Spirits and Discipline were the most brave and healthful; so fatally disagreeing are true Liberty, which is the very source of Vertue and Generosity, and the impotent Domination of a single Tyrant, who commonly Raign by no other means, then the discords of braver Citizens, who can neither indure Equality or Superiority among themselves, and rather admit a general Vassalage, then just equality, or the vices of the baser, which reconcile them and concern them in a bad example. But suppose Succession a thing sacred and inviolable, yet once break and interrupt it, it is little worth, either the Usurper being to be acknowledged regular, or the whole Series dash'd out of order: Nay, we see Aspirers themselves, either so blinded with their pretences, or with animosity, so crying their own up, that it is almost impossible for any private judgement to do right in this case, they themselves thwarting one another, and it not being in the power of nature that both should be right: But who can instance one Monarch, whose Crown is come to him by untainted Succession? and what History will not confirm the Example, I shall anon bring: Certainly though Succession were a thing that had not so little reason or being, yet I see not why men should with such a strange pertinacy defend it: Matters of Government ought to be governed by prudence, but this is to put them into the hands of Fortune, when a

Childe uncapable or infirm, under the Regiment of a Nurſe, muſt (poſsibly) be Supreame Governor, and thoſe vvhom either their Abilities or Vertues fit for it, Subordinate or laid aſide: But vvhat if the perſon vvhom Neceſsity hath ſet at the Stern, be uncapable, Lunatick, Weak or Vicious, is not this a good vvay to prevent Controverſies? vvith all this enervates, all good Councel, vvhen a King ſhould have need of Tutors, and that a maſs of people ſhould be commanded by one vvho commands not himſelf, and vvhen vve ſcarce obey even excellent Princes, to adore Shadovvs and vveak ones.

As for *Boxhorrims* diſtinction of ſucceſſive, wherein the next Heir muſt neceſſarily ſucceed out of the Original right of the former, I would ask him, whether the Predeceſſor were a Poſſeſſor or uſufructuary; if the former, all our former Arguments fall on him; if the latter, it makes not for his Succeſſor, the people being owners; and beſides, the diſtinction is one of his own Coyning, never pretended before, upon the firſt controverſie it is invalid, although the firſt fouuder had a right, as we have proved the contrary.

Having with what brevity I could, brought to an end my firſt intention. I ſhall now fall upon the ſecond, which is the intrinſicall value and expediency of this Government, and ſome little compariſon with others, but herein we ſhall be ſhort, and onely ſo far as concerns this: And indeed it is a buſineſs ſo tickliſh, that even Mr. *Hobs* in his *de Civi*, though he aſſured himſelf that the reſt of his Book (which is principally erected to the aſſertion of Monarchy) is demonſtrated, yet he doubts whether the Arguments which he brings to this buſineſs be ſo firm or no; And *Malvezzi* contrarily remonſtrates (in his diſcourſes upon *Tacitus*) that Optimacies are clearly better then Monarchys, as to all advantages. And indeed if we look on their Arguments, they are either Flouriſhes, or meerly Conceptions, ſuch as are the reference and perfection of an Unity, which muſt needs work better and more naturally, as one ſimple cauſe (beſides that it ſtills and reſtrains all other claims) then many co-ordinate, whereas they never conſider that though among many joynt Cauſes, there may be ſome

jarring,

jarring, yet like croſs wheels in an Engine, they tend to the regulation of the whole; What violent miſchiefs are brought in by the contentions of Pretenders, Ambiguities of Titles, and lawleſs ambition of Aſpirers, whereas in a ſetled Republique all this is clear; and in caſe any particular man aſpire, they know whom to joyn againſt and puniſh as a Common Enemy. As for that which alledges the advantage of ſecreſi in buſineſs, it carries not much with it, in reguard that under that even moſt pernicious deſigns may be carryed on; and for wholſome counſels (Bating ſome more nice Tranſactions) it matters not how much they be toſt, among thoſe who are ſo much entruſted and concern'd in them, all croſs Deſigns being never in probability ſo feeble and ineffectual, as when there are many eyes to over look them, and voyces to deſcry them. As for that expedition in which they ſay Monarchs are ſo happy, it may as well further a bad intention, as give effect to a juſt Councel, it depending of the judgement of a ſingle man, to whoſe will and ends all muſt refer; whereas a ſelect number of Entruſted perſons may haſten every opportunity with a juſt ſlowneſs as well as they, though indeed (unleſs it be in ſome Military Critical minuits) I ſee not ſuch an excellency in the ſwiftneſs of heady diſpatch, precipitation in Councels being ſo dangerous and Ominous. As for what concerns private Suitors, they may as (if not more) ſpeedily and effectually be anſwered in ſtaid Re-publiques, as in the Court of a King, where Bribery and unworthy Favorites do not what is juſt, but what is deſired.

With theſe and many others as conſiderable, which partly willingly, and partly in the penury of Books, forgettingly I paſs, do they intend to ſtrengthen this fantaſtical and ayrie building; but as ſly Controverters, many times leave out the principal Texts or Argument, becauſe ſhould it be produc'd, it could not be ſo eaſily anſwered; ſo theſe men tell us all the advantages of Monarchy, ſuppoſing them ſtill well ſetled, and under men vertuous, but you ſhall never here them talk of it, *in Statu corrupto*, under lewd Kings and unſettled Laws; they never let fall a word of the dangers of Inter-reigns, the minorities and vices of Princes, Miſgovernments, evil Councels;

cels, Ambitions, Ambiguities of Titles, and the Animosities and Calamities that follow them, the necessary Injustices and Oppressions by which Monarchs (using the peoples wealth and blood against them) hold them fast in their seats, and by some suspension of Divine Justice dye not violently.

Whereas other Governments are established against all these evils, being ever of vigor and just age setled in their own right, freed from pretences, served by experienc'd and engaged Councels, and (as nothing under the Moon is perfect) sometimes gaining and advantag'd in their Controversies, which have not seldom (as we may see in old *Rome*) brought forth good Laws and Augmentations of Freedom, whereas once declining from the purity and vigor; and (which is the effect of that) ravisht by an Invader, they languish in a brutish servitude (Monarchy being truly a disease of Government) and like Slaves, stupid with harshness and continuance of Slavery, wax old under it, till they either arrive at that period which God prescribes to all people and Governments, or else better Stars and Nephews awaken them out of that Lethargy, and restore them to their Pristine Liberty, and its Daughter happiness.

But this is but to converse in Notions, wandring and ill abstract from things, let us now descend into practical observation, and clearly manifest out of the whole Series of Time and Actions, what circumstances & events have either usher'd or dog'd one race of Kings, That if there were all the justice in the world, that the Government of a Nation should be entailed upon one Family, yet certainly we could not grant it to such an one, whose Criminal lives and formidable deaths, have been evidences of Gods wrath upon it for so many Generations.

And since no Countrey that I know, yields such an illustrous example of this as *Scotland* does, and it may be a charity to bring in to the way such as are misled, I have pitched upon the Scottish History, wherein as I have onely consulted their own Authors, as my fittest witnesses in this case; So have I (not as a just History, but as far as concerns this purpose) faithfully and as far as the thing would permit, without glosses represented it, so that any calm understanding may reduce,

that

that the vengeance which at the preſent is levell'd againſt the Nation, is but an attendant of this new introduc'd Perſon, & that he himſelf, though for the preſent he ſeems a *Clog* among his Frogs, and ſuffer them to play about him, yet God will ſuffer him (if the Engliſh Army prevent not) to turn *Stork* and devour them, while their crys ſhall not be heard, as thoſe that (in diſpight of the warning of Providence, and light of their own reaſons, for their own corrupt Intereſt and greedy Ambition) brought theſe miſeries upon themſelves.

D The

The inſtance out of the

SCOTTISH HISTORY,

Which is the

SECOND PART.

AND now we come to our main buſineſs, which is the review of Story, wherein we may finde ſuch a direct and un-interrupted Series, ſuch mutual Endearments between Prince and People, ſo many of them crowned with happy Reigns and quiet Deaths (two together ſcarce dying nuturally) that we may conclude, that they have not onely the moſt reaſon, but a great deal of excellent Intereſt, who Eſpouſe the Perſon and Quarrel of the hopeful Deſcendant of ſuch a Family; nor ſhall we be ſo injurious to the glory of a Nation, proud with a Catalogue of Names and Kings, as to expunge a great part of their number; though ſome who have done it, affirm, There can be no probability that they had any other being then what *Hector Boyes*, and the black Book of *Paſley* (out of which *Buchanan* had moſt of his materials) between them, there being no mention of the name of Scot in any Authentick Writer, till Four hundred years after Chriſt: No, we ſhall no more envy theſe old *Heroes* unto them, then their placing the red Lyon in the Dexter point of their Eſchutcheon: But though we might in juſtice reject them as Fabulous and Monkiſh, yet ſince themſelves acknowledge them, and they equally make againſt them, we ſhall run them over like veritable *Hiſtory*: The firſt of this bleſſed race was *Fergus*, firſt General, and afterward got himſelf made King, but no ſooner caſt away on the

the coaſt of *Ireland*, but a contention ariſes about the validity of their Oath to him, and Uncles are appointed to ſucceed in caſe of minority of Sons, and then they after his death to ſucceed, which argues it Elective; ſo *Fentharis* Brother to *Fergus* is King, but his Nephew enters a Conſpiracy againſt him, forces him to reſigne and flie to the Iſles, vvhere he dyed. *Feritharis* dying ſoon after, vvas ſuſpected to be poiſoned: after him comes in *Maia* (*Fergus* ſecond ſon, vvho vvith his ſons *Dornadilla* reigned quietly fifty ſeven years. But *Reuther* his ſon, not being of age, the people make his Uncle *Nothat* take the Government, but he miſruling, *Rheuther*, by the help of one *Donalus*, raiſed a party againſt him and beheads him; makes himſelf King vvith indignation of the People that he was not elected, ſo that by the kindred of *Nothat* he is fought with, taken and diſplaced, but afterward makes a party and regains: His ſon *Therens* was too young, ſo that his Brother *Rheutha* ſucceeded, but after ſeventeen years was glad to reſigne. Well, *Therens* raigns, but after ſix years declines to ſuch lewdneſs that they force him to flie, and govern by a Prorex after his death; *Joſina* his Brother, and his Son *Finan* are Kings, and quietly dye ſo.

But then comes *Durſt*, one who ſlayes all the Nobility at a Banquet, and is by the People ſlain; after his death the validity of the Oath to *Fergus* is called in queſtion, and the elective power vindicated; but at length *Even* his brother is admitted, who though he ruled valiantly and well, yet he had *Gillus* a baſtard Son, *Vafer & Regni Cupidus*: The next of the line are two Twins *Docham* and *Dorgall* (ſons of *Durſt*) they while they diſputed of priority of age, are *by the artifice of* Gillus *ſlain in the tumult*; who makes a ſtrong party, and ſeizing of a Hold, ſayes he was made Superviſor by his Father, and ſo becomes King, cuts off all the race of *Durſt*, but is after forced out of the Kingdom, and taken by *Even* the ſecond his Succeſſor (who was choſen by the People) and by him put to death in *Ireland*: after *Even* comes *Eder*: after *Eder*, his ſon *Even* the third, who for making a Law, that the Nobility ſhould have the enjoyment of all new

married women before they were touched by their husbands, was doomed to priſon during his life, and there ſtrangled; his Succeſſor was his Kinſman *Metellan*; after whom was elected *Caratac*, whom his brother *Corbret* ſucceeded; but then came *Dardan* (whom the Lords made take on him the Government, by reaſon of the nonage of *Corbrets* ſon) who for his lewdneſs was taken by the People and beheaded.

After him *Corbret* the ſecond, vvhoſe Son *Luctac* for his levvdneſs was by the People put to death; then vvas elected *Mogald*, vvho following his vitious Predeceſſors ſteps, found his death like theirs, violent.

His Son *Conar* one of the Conſpirators againſt him ſucceeded, but miſ-governing, vvas clapt in Priſon and there dyed.

Ethodeus his Siſters ſon ſucceded, who was ſlain in the night in his Chamber by his Piper.

His Son being a Minor, *Satrael* his brother vvas accepted, vvho ſeeking to place the ſucceſsion in his ovvn line, grevv ſo hatefull to the People, that not daring to come abroad, he was ſtrangled in the night by his own ſervants, which made way for the youngeſt Brother.

Donald, who out-did the others vices by contrary vertues, and had a happy raign of one and twenty years.

Ethodius the ſecond, Son of the firſt of that name was next, a dull un-active Prince, *Familiarum tumultu occiſus.*

His Son *Athirco* promiſed fair, but deceived their expectations with moſt horrid lewdneſs, and at length vitiated the daughters of *Nathaloc* a Nobleman, and cauſed them to be whipt before his eyes, but ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by Conſpirators, eluded their fury with his own ſword; his Brother and Children being forced to flie to the *Picts*: *Nathaloc* turning his injury into ambition made himſelf King, and governed anſwerably, for he made moſt of the Nobility to be ſtrangled, under the pretence of calling them to Councell, and was after ſlain by his own ſervants.

After his death, *Athirco's* children vvere called back, and *Findor* his ſon, being of excellent hopes, accepted; who made good vvhat his youth promiſed; he beat in ſundry Battels

Donald

Donald the Iſlander, vvho ſeeing he could not prevail by force, ſent tvvo, as Renegadoes, to the King, vvho (being not accepted) conſpire vvith his Brother, by vvhoſe means one of them ſlevv him vvith a hunting ſpear vvhen he vvas a hunting.

His brother *Donald* ſucceeds (the youngeſt of the three) vvho about to revenge his Brothers death, hears the Iſlander is entred *Murray*: vvhom he encountring with unequal forces, is taken priſoner with thirty of the Nobility, and whether of grief, or his vvounds, dyes in Priſon.

The Iſlander, that had before aſſumed the name, novv aſſumed the povver (the Nobles, by reaſon of their kindred priſoners, being overavved) this man wanting nothing of an exquiſite Tyrant, was, after tvvelve years Butcheries, ſlain by *Cradtedinth* ſon of *Findor*, vvho under a diſguiſe found addreſs and opportunity. The brave Tyrannicide vvas univerſally accepted, and gave no cauſe of repentance, his Raign is famous, for a War begun betvveen the *Scots* and *Picts* about a Dog (as that betvveen the Trojans and Italians for a vvhite Hart) and the defect on of *Carauſius* from *Diocleſian* vvhich happened in his time.

His Kinſman *Fyncormach* ſucceeded, worthy of memory for little but the piety of the *Culdys* (an order of Religious men of that time overborn by others ſucceeding) hee being dead, three ſonnes of his three brothers contended; *Romach* as the eldeſt ſtrengthned by his alliance with the *Picts*, with their aſſiſtance ſeized on it, forcing others to fly, but proving cruell, the Nobility conſpir'd and ſlew him.

Anguſian, another pretender, ſucceeds who being aſſail'd by *Nectam* King of the *Picts*, who came to revenge *Romach*, routed his Army in a pitcht battel, but *Nectham* coming again he was routed and both he and *Nectham* ſlaine.

Tethelmac, the third pretender came next, who beating the *Picts*, and waſting their fields; *Herguſt* when he ſaw there could be no advantage by the ſword, ſuborned two *Picts* to murther him, who drawing to conſpiracy, the Piper that lay in his Chamber (as the manner was then) he at the appointed time admitted them, and there ſlew him.

The next was *Even* ſon of *Fincormac*, who was ſlain in a Battell with the *Picts*, to the almoſt extirpation and baniſhment of the *Scots*; but at the laſt the *Picts* taking diſtaſte at the *Romans* entred into a ſecret League with the *Scots*, and agreed that *Fergus*, (whoſe Uncle the laſt King was) being then in baniſhment, and of a Military breeding and inclination ſhould be choſen King: with him the *Danes* maintained a long War with the *Romanes*, and pull'd down the *Picts* wall, at laſt he and the King of *Picts* were in one day ſlain in a battell againſt them; This mans acceſs to Government was ſtrange, *ignotus Rex ab ignoto populo accerſitus*, and may be thought temerarious; he having no Land for his People, and the *Roman* Name inimicall, yet founded he a Monarchy, there having been Kings ever ſince; and we are to note, this is the firſt man that the founder writers will allow to be reall and not fabulous. Him ſucceeded his ſon *Eugenius* (whoſe Grandfather *Grahame* had all the powver) a Warlike Prince whom ſome ſay ſlain, ſome dead of a diſeaſe. After him his Brother *Dongard*, who after the ſpending of five ſuperſtitious years, left the Crown (as they call it) to his youngeſt Brother *Conſtantine*, who from a good private man turn'd a lewd Prince, and was ſlain by a Nobleman, whoſe daughter he had raviſhed; he was ſucceeded by *Congall*, *Conſtantines* ſon, who came a tolerable good Prince to a looſe people, and having ſpent ſome two and twenty years in ſlight excurſions againſt the *Saxons*, left the rule to his Brother *Goran*, vvho notvvithſtanding he made a good League againſt the *Britains*, vvhich much conduced to his and the Peoples ſettlement, yet they in requital, after thirty four years, made avvay vvith him; which brought in *Eugenius* the third of that name, the ſon of *Congall*, vvho was ſtrongly ſuſpected to have a hand in his death, inſomuch that *Gorans* vvidovv vvas forced to flie into *Ireland* with her children: This man in thirty three years time did nothing but Reign, and make ſhort incurſions upon the Borders; he left the rule to his Brother *Congall*, a Monaſtical, Superſtitious and unactive Prince, who Reigned ten years. *Kynnatell* his Brother was deſigned for Succeſſor, but *Adyan* the ſon of *Goran* laid his claime, but was content to ſuſpend it in reſpect of the

age

age and diseases of *Kynnatall*, which after fourteen moneths took him out of the world and cleared the Controversie, and *Aydan* by the consent of *Columba* (a Priest that Governed all in those dayes) came to be King; a man that after thirty four years turbulently spent, being beaten by the *Saxons* and struck with the death of *Columba* dyed of grief.

After him was chosen *Kenneth*, who hath left nothing behinde him but his name. Then came *Eugenius* the fourth, son of *Aydan* (so irregular is the *Scots* succession that we see it inverted by usurpation or cross elections in every two or three Generations) this man left an ambiguous fame, for *Hector*, sayes he was peaceable, the Manuscript implacably severe, he Reigned sixteen years, and left his son *Ferchard* Successor, who endeavouring to heighten the Prerogative by the dissentions of the Nobility, was on the contrary impeached by them, and called to an accompt, which he denying was clapt in Prison, where he himself saved the Executioner a labour: So that his Brother *Donald* succeeded, who being taken up with the Piety of those dayes, left nothing memorable, save that he in Person interpreted *Scots* Sermons unto the Saxons: He was followed by his Nephew *Ferchard*, son of the first of that name, a thing like a King in nothing but his exorbitancies, who in hunting was wounded by a Wolfe, which cast him into a Feaver, wherein he not observing the imposed Temperance, brought upon himself the lowsie disease upon which discomforted, he was by the perswasion of *Colman* (a Religious man) brought out in his bed covered with Hair-cloth, where he made a publick acknowledgement to the People, and soon after dyed. *Maldwin*, *Donalds* son followed, who after a twenty years ignoble Reign was strangled by his Wife. *Eugenius* the Fift succeeded, son (they say) of King *Dongard*, though the Chronologie seem to refute it: This man spent five years in slight incursions, and was succeeded by *Eugenius* the Sixt, son of *Ferchard*: This man is famous for a little learning, as the times went; and the prodigie of raining of blood seven dayes, and all *Lacticinia* turning into blood. *Amberkelleth*

berkelleth Nephew to *Eugenius* the Fift, ſucceeded this rude Prince, while he was diſcharging the burden of Nature, was ſlain by an arrow from an unknown hand. *Eugenius* the Seventh followed, who being attempted by Conſpirators, had his new-married Wife ſlain in bed beſide him; for which he being accuſed, produced the murderers before his tryall, and was acquitted, and ſo ended the reſt of his 17. years in peace, recommending unto the People *Mordack*, ſon of *Amberkelleth*, who continuing a blank raigne, or it may be a happy one, in regard it was peaceable, left it to *Etfyn*, ſon of *Eugenius* the 7th; the firſt part of his reigne was peaceable; but Age obliging him to put the Government into the hands of four of his Servants, it happned to him, as it doth to other Princes, whoſe fortunes decay commonly with their ſtrength, that it was very unhappy and turbulent: Which miſeries, *Eugenius* the Eighth, ſon of *Mordack* reſtrained; but he it ſeems, having a nature fitter to appeate tumults, then to enjoy reſt, at the firſt enjoyment of peace, broke into ſuch lewdneſſe, that the Nobility at a meating ſtabb'd him, and made way for *Fergus* the ſon of *Etfyn*, one like his Predeceſſor in manner, death, and continuance of reigne, which was three years; the onely diſſimilitude was, that the latter's Wife brought his death; for which, others being impeached, ſhe ſtept in and confeſſed it, and to elude puniſhment, puniſhed her ſelf with a knife. *Solnath*, ſon of *Eugenius* the Eighth, followed him, who though his gout made him of leſſe Action, yet it made his prudence more viſible, and himſelf not illaudable, his death brought in *Achaius* the ſon of *Etfyn*, whoſe reigne was innobled with an *Iriſh* War, and many learned men, beſides the aſſiſtance, lent *Hungus* to fight againſt the *Northumbrians*, whom he beat in a famous battell, which (if I may mention the matter) was preſignified to *Hungus* in a dream; Saint *Andrew* appearing to him, and aſſuring him of it and in the time of the battell, a white Croſſe, (that which the Heraulds call a Saltier, and we ſee commonly in the *Scots* Banners) appeared in the Sky; and this I think to have been the occaſion of that bearing, and an order of Knights of Saint *Andrew*, ſometimes in reputation in *Scotland*, but extinguiſhed for ought I can perceive, before the time of *James* the Sixt,

though

though the Collar and Pendent of it are at this day worn about the *Scots* Arms. To this man *Congal* his Couſin ſucceeded, who left nothing behinde him but five years to ſtretch out the accompt of time. *Dongal* the ſon of *Soluath* came next, who being of a nature fierce and inſupportable, there was an endeavor to ſet up *Alpine* ſon of *Achaius*, which deſigne by *Alpine* himſelf was fruſtrated, which made the King willinger to aſſiſt *Alpine* in his pretention to the Kingdom of *Picts*, in the which attempt he was drowned, and left unto *Alpine* that which he before had ſo nobly refuſed, who making uſe of the former, raiſed an Army, beat the *Picts* in many ſignall Victories, but at laſt was ſlain by them, leaving his name to the place of his death, and the Kingdome to his ſon *Kenneth*. This man ſeeing the People broken with the late War, and unwilling to fight, drew them on by this ſubtlty, invites the Nobility to dinner, and after plying them with drink till midnight, leaves them ſleeping on the floor (as the manner was) and then hanging fiſh skins about the wals of the Chamber, and making one ſpeak through a trunk, and call them to War: they waking, and half aſleep, ſuppoſed ſomething of Divinity to be in it, and the next morning not onely conſented to War, but (ſo ſtrange is deluded imagination,) with unſpeakable courage fell upon the Enemy, and put them to the rout: which being confirmed by other great Victories, utterly ruined the *Pictiſh* Name. This man may be added to the two *Ferguſes*, and truly may be ſaid to be the Founder of the *Scots* Empire, not only in making that the middle of his Dominion, which was once the bounds: But in confirming his acqueſts with good Lawes, having opportunitie of a long peace which was Sixteen years, his whole time of Government being Twenty. This was he that plac'd that Stone, famous for that illuſory Propheſie, (*Ni fallat fatum*,) (which firſt was brought out of *Spain* into *Ireland*, and from thence to *Argyle*) at *Scoon*; where he put it in a Chair, in which all his Succeſſors (till *Edward* the Firſt brought it away) were crowned, and ſince that, all the Kings of *England*, till the happineſſe of our Common-wealth made it uſeleſſe: his Brother *Donald* was his Succeſſor, a man made up of extreamities of virtues and vices, no man had more braverey in the field,

nor more vice at home, vvhich increaſing vvith his years, the Nobility put him in priſon, vvhere either for fear or ſcorn, he put an end to his dayes, leaving behinde him his brother *Conſtantine*, a man wanting nothing of him but his vices, who ſtruggling with a potent Enemy (for the *Picts* had called in the *Danes*) and driving them much into deſpair (a bravery that hath not ſeldome ruin'd many excellent Captains) was taken by them, put into a little Cave, and there ſlain. He was ſucceeded by *Ethus* his brother, who had all his eldeſt brothers vices, and none of his ſeconds virtues; Nature it ſeems, making two extreames, and a middle in the three Brethren: This man voluptuous and cowardly, was forced to reſigne; or, as others ſay, died of wounds received in a Duell from his Succeſſor, who was *Gregorius* ſon of *Dongal*, who was not onely an excellent man, but an excellent Prince, that both recovered what the others had loſt, and victoriouſly traverſed the Northern Counties of *England*, and a great part of *Ireland*, whoſe King a Minor, and in his power, he generouſly made no advantage of, but ſettled his Countrey, and provided faithful and able Guardians for him. Theſe things juſtly yeeld him the name of Great: *Donald*, ſon of *Conſtantine* the ſecond, by his recommendation, ſucceeded in his power and vertues, notwithſtanding ſome ſay he was removed by poyſon: Next was *Conſtantine* the third, ſon of *Ethus*, an unſtable perſon, who aſſiſted the *Danes*, which none of his Predeceſſors would do, and after they had deſerted him baſely, yet yeelded them ſuccors, conſiſting of the chief of the *Scots* Nobility, which with the whole *Dainiſh* Army were routed by the *Saxons*; this ſtruck him ſo, that he retired amongſt the *Culdys* (which were as the Greek Calogers, or Romiſh Monks at this day) and there buried himſelf alive: After him was *Milcom*, ſon of *Donald* the third, who though a good Prince, and well skill'd in the arts of peace, was ſlain by a Conſpiracy of thoſe to whom his vertue was burthenſom: His Succeſſor was *Judulfe* (by what Title I finde not) who fighting with the *Danes*, that with a Navy unexpectedly came into the *Frith*, was ſlain: *Duffe* his ſon ſucceed, famous for an accident, which if it be true, ſeems nearly diſtant

from

from a fable; He was ſuddenly afflicted by a ſweating diſeaſe, by which he painfully languiſt'd, yet no body could finde the cauſe, till at laſt a Girl, that had ſcattered ſome words after torments, confeſſed that her mother and ſome other women, had made an Image of wax, which, as it waſted, the King ſhould waſte, by ſweating much; the place being diligently ſearched, it was found accordingly; to the Image being broke, he inſtantly recovered: That which diſturbed his five years Raign, was the turbulency of the Northern people, whom, when he had reduc'd and taken, with intent to make exemplary puniſhment, *Donald* the Commander of the Caſtle of *Forreſs*, where he then lay, interceded for ſome of them, but being repul'ſt, and exaſperated by his wife, after he had made all his ſervants drunken, ſlew him in his bed, and buried him under a little bridge (leaſt the cutting of turfs might bewray a grave) near *Kilroſs* Abbey; though others ſay, he turned aſide a River, & after he had buried him, ſuffered it to take it's former Channel: *Culen* the ſon of *Indulfe*, by the Election of Parliament, or Convention of People ſucceeded, good onely in his one Action of inquiring and puniſhing his Predeceſſors death, but after, by the neglect of Diſcipline, and the exquiſitneſs of his vices, became a monſter, and ſo continued three years, till being weakned and exhauſted in his body, and vext with perpetual diſeaſes, he was ſummonded by the Parliament, and, in the way, was ſlain by a *Thane* (ſo they then called Lieutenants of Counties) whoſe daughter he had raviſh'd.

Then came *Kenneth*, brother to *Duff* (though the forepart of his Raign was totally unlike his) who being invaded by the *Danes*, beat them in that famous battel, which was won by three *Hays*, husbandmen (from whom all the *Hays* now give three ſhields geils) who with their Sythes reinforc'd the loſt battel, but in his latter time he loſt this reputation, by poyſoning *Milcolm* ſon of *Duff*, to preſerve the Crown for a ſon of his name, though of leſs merit (for ſays *Buchanan*, *They uſe to chooſe the fitteſt, not the neareſt*) which being done, he got ordained in a Parliament, that the Succeſſion ſhould be lineal, the Son ſhould inherit, and be called Prince of *Scots*; and, if he were a minor, be governed by ſome wiſe man (here

comes the pretence of Succeſsion, whereas before it was clearly Elective) and at fifteen, he ſhould chooſe his Guardian himſelf; But the Divine vengeance, which ſeldom, even in this life, paſſes by murther, overtook him; for he was inſnared by a Lady, whoſe ſon he had cauſed to be executed, and ſlain by an arrow out of an ambuſh ſhe had laid. *Conſtantine* the ſon of *Culen*, notwithſtanding all the artifice of *Kenneth*, by his reaſoning againſt the Act, perſwaded moſt of the Nobility to make him King, to that *Milcolm* the ſon of *Kenneth* and he made up two factions, which tore the Kingdom, till at length *Milcolms* Baſtard Brother (himſelf being in *England* aſsiſting the *Danes*) fought him, routed his Army, and, with the loſs of his own life, took away his, they dying of mutual wounds. *Grime*, of whoſe birth they do not certainly agree, was choſen by the *Conſtantinians*, who made a good party, but at interceſsion of *Forard* (an accompted Rabbi of the times) they at laſt agreed, *Grime* being to enjoy the Kingdom for his life, after which *Milcolumb* ſhould ſucceed, his fathers Law ſtanding in force; but he after declining into lewdneſs, cruelty and ſpoil (as Princes drunk with greatneſs and proſperity uſe to do) the people called back *Milcolumb*, who rather receiving battel then giving it (for it was upon Aſcention day, his principal Holy day) routed his Forces, wounded himſelf, took him, pulled out his eyes, which altogether made an end of his life, all factions and humors being reconciled.

Milcolumb, who with various Fortune fought many ſignal Battels with the *Danes*, who under their King *Suene*, had invaded, in his latter end he grew to ſuch Covetouſneſs and Oppreſsion, that all Authors agree he was murthered, though they diſagreed of the manner; ſome ſay, by Confederacy with his ſervants; ſome, by his Kinſmen and Competitors; ſome, by the friends of a maid, whom he had raviſhed. *Donald* his Grandchilde ſucceeded, a good natur'd and unactive Prince, who with a ſtratagem of ſleepy drink, deſtroyed a *Daniſh* Army that had invaded and diſtreſſed him, but at laſt being inſnared by his Kinſman *Makbeth* (who was prick'd forward by Ambition, and a former viſion of three women of a Sour-

humane

human ſhape, whereof one ſaluted him, *Thane* of *Angus*, another of *Murray* the third King) he was beheaded.

The ſeverity and cruelty of *Mackbeth* was ſo known, that both the ſons of the murthered King were forced to retire, and yield to the times, whileſt he courted the Nobility with largeſſes: The firſt ten years he ſpent virtuouſly, but the remainder was ſo ſavage and Tyrannical, that *Macduff Thane* of *Fife* fled into *England* to *Milcolm*, ſon of *Donald*, who by his perſwaſions, and the aſſiſtence of the King of *England*, entered *Scotland*, vvhere he found ſuch great acceſsions to his party, that *Mackbeth* vvas forced to fly, his death is hid in ſuch a miſt of *Fables*, that it is not certainly known.

Milcolumb, the third of that name, novv being quietly ſeated, was the firſt that brought in thoſe gay intentions & diſtinctions of Honors, Dukes, Marqueſſes (that now are become ſo agerg, that ſome carry them from places, to vvhich they have as little relation as any, as *Iſeland* in *America*, and other from Cottages and Dovecoats) his firſt trouble was *Forfar Mackbeths* ſon, who claimed the Crown, but was ſoon after cut off: ſome vvar he had vvith that *William*, vvhom vve call falſlly the Conquerour, ſome vvith his ovvn People, vvhich, by the Interceſsion of the Biſhops, vvere taken up: At length, quarrelling vvith our *William* the ſecond, he laid Siege to *Alnwick* Caſtle, vvhich being forced to extremity, a Knight came out vvith the Keys on a Spear, as to preſent them to him, and yield the Caſtle, but he not vvith due heed receiving them, vvas run through the eye and ſlain; ſome from hence derive the name of *Piercy* (hovv truly I knovv not) his ſon and Succeſſor *Edward* followving his revenge too hotly, received ſome vvounds, of vvhich, within a fevv dayes, he dyed.

Donald Bave (that is white) who had fled into the Iſles for fear of *Mackbeth*, promiſed them to the Kings of *Norway*, if he would procure him to be King, which was done with eaſe, as the times then ſtood, but this Uſurper being hated by the People, who generally loved the memory of *Milcolmb*, they ſet *Duncan Milcolmbs* Baſtard againſt him, who forc'd him to retire to his Iſles; *Duncan*, a Military man, ſhewed himſelf unfit for Government, ſo, *Donald* waiting all ad-

 vantages,

cauſed him to be beheaded, and reſtored himſelf; but his Reign was ſo turbulent, the Iſlanders and Engliſh invading on both ſides, that they called in *Edgar* ſon of *Milcolmb*, then in *England*, who, with ſmall aſsiſtances, poſſeſt himſelf, all men deſerting *Donald*, who being taken and brought to the King, dyed in Priſon; *Edgar* ſecure by his vertues, and ſtrengthened by the Engliſh aliance, ſpent nine years vertuouſly and peaceably, and gave the People leave to breathe and reſt after ſo much trouble and bloodſhed. His Brother *Alexander*, ſirnamed *Acer*, or the fierce, ſucceeded, the beginning of whoſe Reign, being d ſturbed by a Rebellion, he ſpeedily met them at the *Spay*, wh ch being a ſwift River, and the Enemy on the other ſide, he offered himſelf to foard on horſe-back, but *Alexander Car* taking the imployment from him, foarded the River with ſuch courage, that the Enemy fled, and were quiet; The reſt of his Raign (ſome ſay) he had the name of *Acer*, for that ſome Conſpirators being by the fraud of his Chamberlain, admitted into his Chamber, he caſually waking firſt, ſlew the Chamberlain, and after ſix of the Conſpirators, not ceaſing to purſue the reſt, till he had ſlain moſt of them with his owne hands, this with the building of ſome Abbeys, and ſeventeen years Raign, is all we know of him.

His Brother *David* ſucceeded, one whoſe profuſe prodigality upon the Abbyes brought the revenew of the Crown (ſo prevalent was the ſuperſtition of thoſe dayes) almoſt to nothing, he had many battels with our *Stephen* about the title of *Maud* the Empreſs, and having loſt his excellent wife and hopefull Son in the flower of their dayes, he left the Kingdom to his Grand-children, the eldeſt whereof was *David* a ſimple King, baffled, and led up and down into *France* by our *Henry* the ſecond, which brought them to ſuch contempt, that he was vext by frequent Inſurrections, eſpecially them of *Murray*, whom he almoſt extirpated; the latter part of his Reign was ſpent in building of Monaſteries, he himſelf tyed by a Vow of Chaſtity, would never marry, but left his Succeſſor his brother *William*, who expoſtulating for the Earldom of *Northumberland* gave occaſion for a War, in which he was ſurprized and taken, but afterwards releaſt upon his

doing

doing Homage for the Kingdom of *Scotland* to King *Henry*, of whom he acknowledged to hold it, and put in Caution the Caſtles of *Roxborough* (once ſtrong, now nothing but ruins) *Barwick*, *Edinburgh*, *Sterling*, all which notwithſtanding was after releaſed by *Richard corde Lyon*, who was then upon an expedition to the Holy War, from whence returning, both he, and *David* Earl of *Huntington*, brother to the King of *Scots* were taken Priſoners: the reſt of his Reign (ſaving the rebuilding of Saint *Johnſton*, which had been deſtroyed by the waters, whereby he loſt his eldeſt Son; and ſome Treaties with our King *John*) was little vvorth the memory; only you vvill vvonder that a *Scottiſh* King could Reign fourty nine years and die in peace.

Alexander his Son ſucceeded, famous for little, ſave ſome Expeditions againſt our King *Iohn*, ſome Inſurrections, and a Reign two years longer then his Fathers. His Son was the third of that name, a boy of eight years old, whoſe Minority was infeſted with the turbulent *Cumins*, vvho, at riper age, being called to accompt, not onely refuſed, but ſurprized him at *Sterling*, governing him at their pleaſure; but ſoon after he was awaked by a furious Invaſion of *Acho* King of *Norway* (under the pretence of ſome Iſlands given him by *Mackbeth*) whom he forced to accept a Peace, and ſpent the latter part amidſt the turbulencies of the Prieſts (drunk at that time with their wealth and eaſe) and at laſt having ſeen the continued funerals of his Sons, *David*, *Alexander*, his wife, and his daughter, he himſelf with a fall from his horſe broke his neck, leaving of all his race, onely a Grand-childe by his daughter, which dyed ſoon after.

This mans family being extinguiſhed, they vvere forced to run to another Line, which that we may ſee how happy, expedient, immediate Succeſſion is for the Peace of the Kingdom, and what miſeries it prevents; I ſhall as briefly and as pertinently as I can, ſet down.

David, brother to King *William*, had three daughters, *Margaret* marryed to *Allan*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Iſabell* marryed to *Robert Bruce*, Lord of *Annandale* and *Cleveland*; *Ada* marryed to *Henry Haſtings*, Earl of *Huntington*, now *Allan* begotten

begot on his wife *Dornadilla* married to *Iohn Baliall* after King of *Scotland*, and other two daughters, *Bruce* on his wife *Robert Bruce*, Earle of *Carick*, (having married the heretrix thereof,) as for *Huntington* he desisted his claime; The question is, whether *Balial* in right of the eldest daughter, or *Bruce* being come of the second (but a man) should have the Crown, he being in the same degree, and of the more worthy sex; the Controversie being tost up and down, at last vvas referred to *Edward* the first of that name of *England*, he thinking to fish in these troubled waters, stirs up eight other Competitors, the more to entangle the business, and with twenty four Councellors, half *English*, half *Scots*, and abundance of Councellors, Lawyers, fit enough to perplex the matter, so handled the business, after cunning delayes, that at length he secretly tampers with *Bruce* (who was then conceived to have the better right of the businesse) that if he vvould acknovvledge the Crown of him, he would adjudge it for him, but he generously answering that he valued a Crovvn at a less rate, then for it to put his Countrey under a Forraign yoke; he made the same motion to *Baliall*, vvho accepted it; and so vve have a King again, by vvhat right vve all see, but it is good reason to think that Kings, come they by their power never so unjustly, may justly keep it,

Baliall having thus got a Crown, as unhappily kept it; for no sooner vvas he Crovvned, and had done Homage to *Edward*, but the *Abernethys* having slain *Macduffe* Earl of *Fife*, he not only pardoned them, but gave them a piece of Land in controversie, vvhereupon *Macduffs* brother complaining against him to *Edward*, vvho makes him rise from his seat at Parliament and go to the Bar, he hereupon enraged, denyes *Edward* assistance against the *French*, and renounces his Homage, *Edward* hereupon comes to *Berwick*, takes and kills seven thousand, most of the Nobility of *Fife* and *Lowthian*, and after gave them a great defeat at *Dunbar*, whose Castle instantly surrendred: After this, he marched to *Montrosse*, where *Baliall* resigned himself and Crown, all the Nobility giving Homage to *Edward*, *Baliall* is sent prisoner to *London*, and from thence after 3 years detention into *France*. Whilest *Edward*

was

was poſſeſt of all *Scotland* one *William Wallace* aroſe, who being a private man, beſtirred himſelf in the Calamity of his Countrey, and gave the *Engliſh* ſeverall notable foyles. *Edward* coming again with an Army, beat him (that was overcome with envy and emulation as well as power, upon which he laid by his Command, and never acted after, but ſlight Incurſions) but the *Engliſh* being beaten at *Roſslin*, *Edward* comes in again, takes *Sterling*, and makes them all render homage; but at length *Bruce*, ſeeing all his promiſes nothing but ſmoak, enters into League with *Cumen* to get the Kingdome; but being betrayed by him to *Edward*, he ſtabbed *Cumen* at *Dumfreis*, and made himſelf King. This man though he came with diſadvantage, yet wanted neither patience, courage, nor conduct; ſo that after he had miſerably lurk'd in the mountains, he came down, and gathering together ſome force, gave our *Edward* the ſecond ſuch a defeat near *Sterling*, as *Scotland* never gave the like to our Nation, and continued war with various fortune with the Third, till at laſt, age and Leproſie brought him to his grave. His ſon *David* a Boy of eight years, inherited that which he with ſo much danger obtained, and wiſdom kept; In his minority he was governed by *Thomas Randolf* Earl of *Murray*, whoſe ſeverity in puniſhing was no leſſe dreaded. His valor had been honoured, but he ſoon after dying of poyſon, and *Edward Balial*, ſon of *John*, coming vvith a Fleet, and ſtrengthened vvith the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and ſome Robbers, the Governour the Earl of *Mar* vvas put to the rout, ſo that *Balial* makes himſelf King, and *David* vvas glad to retire into *France*; Amidſt theſe parties (*Edward* the third backing *Balial*) vvas *Scotland* pittifully torn, and the *Bruces* in a manner extinguiſhed, till *Robert* (after King) vvith them of *Argyle*, and his ovvn Family and friends, begin to renevv the Claim, and bring it into a War again, vvhich vvas carryed on by *Andrew Murray* the Governour, and after by himſelf; that *David* after nine years baniſhment durſt return, vvhere making often Incurſions, he at length in the fourth year of his return, march'd into *England*, and in the Biſhoprick of *Durham* vvas routed, fled to an obſcure Bridge, ſhevved to this day by the Inhabitants, vvhere he vvas by *Iohn Copland* taken

priſoner, vvhere he continued nine years, and in the thirty ninth year of his Reigne died.

Robert his ſiſters ſon, whom he had intended to put by, ſucceeds, and firſt brought the *Stewarts* (which at this day are a plague to the Nation) into play: This man after he was King, whether it were age or ſloth, did little; bnt his Lieutenants and the *Engliſh* were perpetually in Action; he left his Kingdome to *John* his Baſtard ſon by the Lady *More* his Concubine, whom he married, either to Legittimate the three Children (as the manner was then) he had by her, or elſe for old acquaintance (his Wife, and her Husband dying much about a time) This *John* would be Crowned by the name of *Robert* (his own they ſay being unhappy for Kings) a wretched unactive Prince, lame, and onely governed by his brother *Walter*, who having *David* the Prince, upon the complaint of ſome exorbitancies, delivered to him to take care of, made him to be ſtarv'd; upon whlch the King intending to ſend his ſon *James* into *France*, the Boy was taken at *Flamburgh*, and kept by *Henry* the Fourth; upon the hearing of which, his Father ſwounded, and ſoon after died: His reigne was memorable for nothing, but his breaking with *George* Earl of *March*, to whoſe daughter upon the payment of a great part of her portion (which he never would repay) he had promiſed his ſon *David* for an husband: to take the daughter of *Douglas* who had a greater, which occaſioned the Earl of *March* to make many in-rodes with one *Henry Hot-ſpur*; and a famous Duell of three hundred men apiece, whereof of the one ſide ten remained, and of the other one, which was the onely way to appeaſe the deadly feuds of two Families: The Inter-reign was governed by *Robert*, who enjoying the power, he had too much coveted, little minded the Liberty of his Nephew, onely he ſent ſome Auxiliaries into *France*, who (they ſay) behaved themſelves worthily; and this ſlothfull ſon *Mordac*, who making his ſons ſo bold with indulgence, that one of them kill'd a Falcon on his fiſt, which he denyed to give him; he in revenge procured the Parliament to ranſome the King, who had been eighteen years priſoner. This *James* was the firſt of that Name, and though he was an excellent Prince, yet

had

had a troubleſome Raigne; firſt in regard of a great Penſion raiſed for his Ranſome, next for Domeſtick Commotions, and laſtly for raiſing of Money, which though the Revenue was exhauſted, was called Covetouſneſſe, which having offended *Robert Graham*, he conſpired with the Earl of *Athol*, and ſlew him in his Chamber, his Wife receiving two wounds, endeavoring to defend him.

This *James* left the ſecond, a boy of ſix years, whoſe infancy by the miſ-guidance of the Governor, made a miſerable People, and betrayed the Earl *Douglas* to death, and almoſt all that great Family to ruine; but being ſupplanted by another Earl *Douglas*, the King in his juſt age ſuffered minority under him, who upon diſpleaſure rebelled, and was kill'd by his own hand; afterwards having his middle years perpetually moleſted with Civil broyles, yet going to aſſiſt the Duke of *York* againſt *Henry* the Sixt, he was diverted by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, that counterfeited himſelf a *Nuncio* (which I mention out of a Manuſcript, becauſe I do not remember it in our Storyes) and broke up his Army ſoon after, beſieging *Roxburgh*, he was ſlain by the burſting of a Cannon in the twenty ninth year of his Age.

James the third left a Boy of ſeven years, governed by his Mother, afterwards the *Boyds* through the perſwaſions of Aſtrologers and Witches, to whom he was ſtrongly addicted, he declined to Cruelty, which ſo inraged the Nobility that headed by his ſon, they conſpired againſt him, routed his Forces near *Sterling*, wherein he flying to a Mill, and asking for a Confeſſor, a Prieſt came, who told him, that though he was no good Prieſt, yet he was a good Leech, and with that ſtabb'd him to the heart: A Parliament approved his death, and ordered Indempnities to all that had fought againſt him.

James the fourth, a Boy of fifteen years, is made King, Governed by the murtherers of his Father, a prodigall, vainglorious Prince, ſlain at *Floddon* Field, or as ſome ſuppoſe, at *Kelſey*, by the *Humes*, which (as the Manuſcript alledges) ſeems more probability, in regard that the Iron Belt (a Ring to which he added every year) which he wore in repentance for the death of his Father, was never found, and there were many the day of

the Battell habited like him. His Succeſſor was his ſon, *James* the Fifth of that Name, a Boy of not above two years of age; under whoſe minority, what by the miſ-government of Tutors, what by the factions of the Nobility, *Scotland* was vvaſted almoſt into famine and ſolitude, yet in his juſt age he proved an induſtrious Prince, but could not ſo ſatisfie the Nobility, but he and they continued in a mutuall hate, till that barbarous execution of young *Hamilton*, ſo fill'd him mith remorſe, (he dreaming that *Hamilton* came and cut off his Armes, and threatned after to cut off his Head) and diſpleaſed the People, that he could nor make his Army fight with the *Engliſh* then in *Scotland*, whereupon he dyed of grief, having heard che death of his two ſons, who died at the inſtant of his Dream, and leaving a Daughter of five dayes old, whom he never ſaw.

This was that *Mary*, under whoſe minority (by the weakneſſe of the Governour, and ambition of the Cardinall) the Kingdom felt all thoſe woes that are threatned to them whoſe King is a Childe. Till at length the prevalencie of the *Engliſh* Arms (awakes for her Cauſe) brought the great deſigne of ſending her into *France* to perfection, ſo at five years old ſhe was tranſported, and at fifteen married to the *Daulphin Francis*, after King, (whileſt her mother, daughter of the *Guiſe*, in her Regencie, exerciſed all Rage againſt the Profeſſors of the purer Religion then in the *Dawn*) who after two years, left her a childeleſſe Widow, ſo that at eighteen ſhe teturned into *Scotland* to ſucceed her Mother (then newly dead) in her exorbitancies.

This young couple in the tranſport of their Nuptiall ſolemnities, took the Arms and Title of *England*; which indiſcreet Ambition we may ſuppoſe firſt quickned the jealouſie of *Elizabeth* againſt her, which after kindled ſo great a flame.

In *Scotland* ſhe ſhewed what a ſtrange influence looſs education hath upon youth, and that weaker Sex, all the *French* effeminacies came over with the Court, loſt that little ſeverity which was left. *David Rize* was the onely Favourite, and it too much feared, had thoſe enjoyments which no woman can give, but ſhe that gives away her honor and chaſtity.

But

But a little after, *Henry* Lord *Darnly*, coming with *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* his father into *Scotland*, she cast an eye upon him, and married him. Whether it were to strengthen her pretension to *England*, he being come of *Henry* the Sevenths Daughter, as we shall tell anon, or for to colour her Adulteries, and hide the shame of an impregnation, (though some have whispered, that she never conceived, and that the son was suppositious) or some Phrenzy of affection drew her that way; certain it is she soon declined her affection to her husband, and encreased it to *David* (he being her perpetual Companion at Board, and managing all Affairs, whilst the King with a contemptible train was sent away) insomuch that some of the Nobility that could not digest this, entred a Conspiracy, which the King headed, and slew him in her Chamber.

This turn'd all the neglect of her Husband into rage, so that her chiefest business was to appease her Favorites Ghost with the slaughter of her Husband; poyson was first attempted, but it being (it seems) too weak, or his youth overcoming it, that expectation fail'd. But the Devill and *Bothwel* furnish'd her with another that succeeded, she intices him being so sick, that they were forc'd to bring him in an horse-litter to *Edinburgh*, where she cherisht him extreamly, til the credulous young man began to lay aside suspition, and hope better; so she puts him in a ruinous House near the Palace, from whence no news can be had, brings in her own bed, and lyes in the room with him; and at length when the Designe was ripe, causes him one Sunday night, with his servant, to be strangled, thrown out of the window, and the House blown up with Gun-powder, her own rich bed having been before secretly convayed away. This and other performances made her favour upon *Bothwel* so hot, that she must marry him, the onely obstacle was, he had a Wife already; but she was compell'd to sue for a Divorce, which (so great Persons being concern'd) it was a wonder was in granting so long as ten dayes. Well, she marryes, but the more honest Nobility amazed at those exorbitances, gather together, and with Arms in hands, begin to expostulate: The new-married people are forc'd to make back Southwards, where finding but slender assistances, and the Queen foolishly coming from *Dunbar* to

Leith, was glad at last to delay a parley till her Dear was escaped, and then (clad in an old tottered coat) to yeeld her self a prisoner.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and used rather with hate of her former enormities, then pitty of her fortune, she received a message, that she must either resigne the Crown to her son *James* (that was born in the time of her marriage with *Darnly*) or else they would proceed to another Election, and was forc'd to obey: So the Childe then in his Craddle was acknowledged *Iames* the Sixt, better known afterwards by the Title of *Great Brittain*.

The wretched Mother flying after into *England*, was entertain'd (though with a Guard by Queen *Elizabeth*, but after hey being suborn'd by the *Papists*, and exasperated by the *Guizes*, she entered into plots and machinations, so inconsistent with the safetie of *England*, that by an Act of Parliament she was condemned to death, which she after received by an hatchet at *Fothering-gay* Castle.

The infancie of her son was attended with those Domestick evils that accompany minorities of Kings: In his youth he took to Wife the Daughter of *Denmark* (a woman I hear little of, saving that Character *Salust* gives *Sempronia*, she could *saltare elegantius quam necesse est probæ*) with whom he supposing the Earl *Gowry* too much in League, caused him and his Brother to be slain at their own House whither he was invited, he giving out, that they had an intent to murther him, and that by miracle, and the assistance of some men (whom he had instructed for that purpose, and taught their tale) he escap'd. For this Deliverance (or to say better assasination) he blasphemed God with a solemn Thanksgiving once a year all the remainder of his life.

Happy had it been for us, if our fore fathers had laid hold of that happy opportunity of *Elizabeths* death (in which the *Teuthors* took a period) to have performed that which (perchance in due punishment) hath cost us so much blood and sweat, and not have bowed under the sway of a Stranger (disdained by the most generous and wise at that time, and onely supported by the Faction of some, and sloth of others) who

who brought but a ſlender title, and (however the aſſentation of the times cryed him up a *Solomon*) weak commendations for ſuch an advancement.

The *Former* ſtood thus; *Margaret*, eldeſt daughter to *Henry* the ſeventh, was marryed to *Iames* the fourth, whoſe Son, *Iames* the fifth, had *Mary* the mother of *Iames* the ſixth. *Margaret* after her firſt Husbands death, marryes *Archibald Dowglas*, Earl of *Angus*, who upon her begot *Margaret*, wife of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, and mother of that *Henry Darnly*, whoſe Tragical end we juſt now mentioned. Now upon this ſlender Title and our internal d ſſentions (for the *Cecilians* and *Eſſexians* for ſeveral ends made perpetuall applications) got *Iammy* from a Revenew of 30000.li. to one of almoſt two Millions, though there were others that had as fair prētences (what elſe can any of them make) the Statute of 25. *Ed.*3. expreſly excluding Forraigners from the Crown, and ſo the children of *Charles Brandon* by *Mary* the ſecond, Daughter Dowager of *France*, being next to come in; And the Lady *Arbella*, being ſprung from a third husband, and the Lord *Stewart* of the ſaid *Margaret*, and by a male Lyne, carryed ſurely a formidable pretenſion (it ſhould ſeem) that even that iniquity wh ch was perſonally inherent to her made her dayes very unhappy and moſt part captive, and her death ('tis thought) ſomewhat too early, ſo cruell are the perſecutions of cowardly mindes, even againſt the weakeſt and moſt unprotected innocence.

And indeed his right to the Crown was ſo ſatisfactory even to the moſt judicious of thoſe dayes; that *Toby Matthew* having a ſuit about ſome priviledges which he claimed to his Biſhoprick (which vvas then *Durham*) wherein the King oppoſed him; having one day ſtated the Caſe before ſome of his friends, and they ſeeming to approve of it; yes, ſayes he, I could wiſh but half ſo good a Title to the Crown; and tis known that ſome ſpeeches of Sir *Walter Rawley*, too generous and Engliſh for the times, was that vvhich brought him to Tryall and Condemnation for a feigned crime, and afterwards ſo facilitated that barbarous deſigne of *Gundamar*, to cut off his head for a crime, for vvhich he was condemned

fourteen

fourteen years before, and which by the Commiſsions he after received (according to the opinion of the then Lord Chancellour, and the greateſt Lawyers) vvas in Lavv pardoned.

This may be beſides our purpoſe, but vve could not ſever this Conſideration unleſs vve vvould dravv him vvith an half face, and leave as much inumbray as we expreſſed. That vvhich moſt ſolemnized his Perſon, was, firſt the conſideration of his adhering to the Proteſtant Religion, vvhereas vve are to conſider that thoſe ſleight velitations he had vvith *Bellarmine* and the *Remaniſts*, tended rather to make his own Authority more intrinſecally intenſe, and venerable then to confute any thing they ſaid, for he had before ſhakt them off as to Forraign Juriſdiction, and for matter of Popery, it appeared in his latter time that he was no ſuch enemy to it, both by his own Compliances vvith the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, the deſigne of the Spaniſh Match (in vvhich his Son vvas perſonally imbarkt) and the ſlovv aſsiſtances ſent to his daughter, in vvhoſe ſafety and protection Proteſtantiſme vvas at that time ſo much concerned.

For his knovvledge, he had ſome glancings and nibleings, vvhich the ſeverity of the excellent *Buchanan* forc'd into him in his younger time, and after converſation, ſomevvhat poliſht, but though I bear not ſo great a contempt to his other vvorks, as *Ben: Johnſon* did to his Poetry, yet if they among many others vvere a going to the fire, they vvould not be one of the firſt I ſhould reſcue, as poſſibly expecting more ſevere and refin'd Judgment in many other. And knovving that he that had ſo many able Wits at command, might eaſily make them give their Oracles through his mouth: but ſuppoſe the things generous and fit to live (as I am not yet convinc'd) yet vvhat commendations is this to a King (who ſhould have other buſineſs then ſpinning and weaving fine Theoryes, and engaging in School Ciqueneries) which was well underſtood by *Henry* the fourth, who hearing ſome men celebrate him with theſe Attributes; yea (anſwers he very tartly) *He is a fine King, and writes little Books.*

'Tis true, he was a good droll, and poſsibly after Greek Wine ſomewhat facetious. But for ſubſtantiall and Heroick Wiſ-

Wisdom, I have not heard any great instances; he himself used to brag of his King-craft, which was not to felicifie his People, and prosecute the ends of a good King; but to screw up the Prerogatives, divert Parliaments from the due disquisition and prosecution of their freedoms, and to break them up at pleasure, and indeed his rendition of the Cautionary Towns of the *Low Countreys*, and that for so small a sum, shewed him a person not so quick-sighted, and unfit to be overreacht.

For his peaceable Reign, Honourable and just Quarrels he wanted not, but sloth and cowardize withheld him, and indeed the ease and luxury of those times, fomented & nourished those lurking and pestilent humours, which afterwards so dangerously look'd out in his Sons Reign.

We shall not trouble his ashes with the mention of his Personall faults, only, if we may, compare Gods Judgements with apparant sins; we may finde the latter end of his life, neither fortunate nor comfortable unto him. His wife distasted by him, and some say, languishing of a foul disease; his eldest son dying, *Nimis apertis indiciis*, of Poyson, and that as is feared by a hand too much allyed: His second (with whom he ever had a secret Antipathy) scarce returned from a mad and dangerous voyage; His daughter (all that was left of that sex) banisht, with her numerous issue, out of her husbands Dominion, and living in miserable exile; and lastly, himself dying of a violent death (by poyson) in which his Son was more then suspected to have an hand, as may be infer'd by *Buckinghams* Plea, that he did it by the Command of the then Prince; his own dissolution of the Parliament that took in hand to examine it; and lastly, his indifferency at *Buckinghams* death (though he pretended all love to him alive) as glad to be rid of so dangerous and so considerable a Partner of his guilt; yet the Mitred Parasites of those times, could say, one went to Heaven in *Noahs* Ark, the other in *Elisha's* chariot, he dying of a pretended Feaver, she (as they said) of a dropsie.

Charles, having now obtain'd his Brothers inheritance, carryed himself in managing of it, like one that gain'd it as he

did. The first of his Acts, was that glorious attempt upon the Isle of *Rhee*. The next that Noble and Christianly betraying of *Rochell*, and consequently in a manner the whole Protestant interest in *France*. The middle of his Reign was heightening of Prerogative and Prelacy, and conforming our Churches to the pattern of *Rome*; till at last just indignation brought in his Subjects of *Scotland* into *England*, and so forc'd him to call a Parliament; which though he shamelesly say in the first line of the Book (cal'd his) was out of his *own inclination* to Parliaments, yet how wel he lik't them may appear by his first tampering with his own Army in the North, to surprize and dissolve them, then the *Scots* (who at that time were Court-proof) then raising up the Irish Rebellion, which hath wasted Millions of lives; and lastly, open secession from *Westminster*, and hostility against the two Houses, which maintain'd a first and second sharp War, which had almost ruined the Nation, had not Providence in a manner immediatly interposed and rescued us to Liberty, and made us such signall Instruments of his vengeance, that all wicked Kings may tremble at the example.

In a word never was man so resolute and obstinate in a Tyrannie, never People more strangely besotted with it, to paint the Image of *David* with his face, and Blasphemously parallel him with Christ, would make one at first thought think him a Saint: But to compare his Protestations and actions; his actions of the day, his actions of the night, his Protestant Religion, and his Courting of Pope, and obedience to his wife, we may justly say, he was one of the most consummate in the Arts of Tyranny that ever was. And it could be no other then Gods hand that arrested him in the height of his Designes and greatness, and cut off him and his Family, making good his own Imprecations upon his own head.

Our Scene is again in *Scotland*, who hath accepted his Son, whom for distinctinn sake, we will be content to call *Charles* the Second. Certainly these people were strangely blinde as to Gods Iudgement perpetually powered out upon a Family, or else to their own interest, to admit the spray of such a stock;

one

one that hath ſo little to commend him, and ſo great improbability for their deſignes and happineſs, a Popiſh (or very near it) education, if not Religion too (however for the preſent he may ſeem to diſſemble it, *France*, the Ieſuits and his mother good means of ſuch improvement) the dangerous Maximes of his Father, (beſides the revenge he owes his death, of which he will never totally acquit the *Scots*) his hate to the whole Nation, his ſence of *Montroſſe* his death; his backwardneſs to come to them till all other means failed (Both his Forraign beg'd aſsiſtances, his Propoſitions to the Pope, and Commiſsions to *Montroſſe*,) and laſtly, his late running away to his heart friends in the North; ſo that any man may ſee this his Compliance to be but Hiſteronical and forc'd, and that as ſoon as he hath led them into the ſnare, and got power into his own hands, ſo as he may appear in his own viſage, he will be a ſcourge upon them for their groſs hypocriſie, and leave them a ſad inſtance to all Nations, how dangerous it is to eſpouſe ſuch an intereſt, which God with ſo viſible and ſevere a hand fights againſt, carryed on by, and for the ſupport of a Tyrannizing Nobility and Clergy, and wherein the poor People are blindly led on by thoſe affrighting (but falſe and ungrounded) pretenſions of perfidy and perjury, and made inſtrumentall with their own eſtates and blood, for the enſlaving and ruining themſelves.

FINIS.

F 165877